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The CIA Again

The United States has been understandably embarrassed by the disclosure that the CIA has been secretly aiding the South Viet-Nam Special Forces that conducted the raids on Buddhist pagodas. Yet this is, unfortunately, not the first time the Government has been made to look foolish by the misnamed Central Intelligence Agency. And the trouble is precisely that the CIA does not confine itself to gathering intelligence but has been given operational responsibility for tasks for which it has debatable competence.

One might have supposed that the Bay of Pigs debacle would have alerted the White House to the risks of allowing an intelligence agency to sit in judgment on its own operational missions. The temptation is strong to tailor intelligence to support preconceived opinion. Moreover, when the CIA invests its prestige in supporting a given course, there is an all-too-human tendency to seek vindication for a commitment of money and judgment.

This seems to lie behind the present muddle over CIA misadventures in Saigon. The agency's mission chief in that country had established close and cordial relations with Ngo Dinh Nhu, President Diem's brother and sponsor of the Special Forces. Some \$3 million a year was earmarked for helping the Special Forces. But reportedly the CIA had no advance warning that the Forces would invade the pagodas and the initial intelligence reaction was confused—contributing to the confusion in Washington over what transpired that fateful day.

Nevertheless, the payments evidently continued in the face of Government policy to the contrary, and the Administration has been reduced to a stutter in trying to explain what has happened. Ironically, notwithstanding the CIA subsidy, the pro-Diem press in Saigon has been bitterly attacking the American agency for allegedly taking part in an attempted coup against the regime.

Let it be said that the CIA contains men of undoubted skill and patriotism. Let it also be said that much of the American problem in Saigon springs out of circumstances that not even the wisest of men could easily meet. But some self-inflicted wounds form part of the heartbreaking calamity. In the past, there has been a distressing tendency to subordinate political to military considerations and to avert the eyes from unpleasant realities. The CIA, while not alone in this failing, was unable to provide a detached intelligence corrective because its own agents were enmeshed in the operations of the regime.

There are many rueful lessons in the South Vietnamese tragedy, and not the least of them is that it makes sense in every respect to divorce intelligence from operations that belong in the military sphere. It would be heartening if the present embarrassment were turned to useful purpose by effecting a real reorganization of the CIA. The opportunity should have been grasped after the Cuban invasion; if nothing is done now, both the country and the agency may be needlessly humiliated again.

Wilderness Ways

There is a nice contrast between the manner in which Chairman Wayne Aspinall of the House Interior Committee is handling two pieces of legislation. One is a bill he introduced only three weeks ago calling for establishment of a Public Land Law Review Commission to make a three-year study of public land policy. And the other is a bill first introduced seven years ago, twice passed by the Senate, the last time by an overwhelming vote in April.

Aspinall has been a model of legislative

ism rather than transportation technology, the result of the re-examination will be, we must hope, a compromise calculated to show that the White House supports both the full expressway system and the entire subway network. Perhaps the bridge could be shifted upstream or downstream to remove the extraneous issue of the invasion of park land.

Unless the Administration makes up its mind on these two expressway projects within the next several weeks, there will be no further congressional action this year on the subway bill. And if the bill progresses no farther this year, it will be much less likely to attain passage next year. Failure of this Congress to pass the bill, and to begin construction of the urgently needed transit system on schedule, would constitute an unmitigated misfortune to this city.

Gomulka Announces

Connoisseurs of irony will appreciate the attack launched on Communist China over the weekend by Wladyslaw Gomulka, leader of Poland. Mr. Gomulka had not previously lent his name and still-considerable prestige to Warsaw's clear hostility to the policies of Peking. That he has now done this is a tribute to the depth of the dispute between China and the Soviet Union.

It was less than seven years ago, at the time of Poland's own peaceful revolution against Moscow, that Warsaw reached out to Peking for sympathy and support. Mr. Gomulka very much wanted to sanctify the concept of national diversity within the socialist camp as a kind of symbolic protection from the wrath of Russia. China obliged—in the mediation journey of Chou En-lai through Eastern Europe and in the famous "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" speech of Mao Tse-tung. One part of this speech blessed the idea of non-antagonistic contradictions between Communist countries. To Mr. Gomulka this meant maneuverability and he gave it a happy hearing. The Kremlin, irked by a doctrine which justified differences between it and its wards, soon rebutted Mao's speech, as Mao did too for other reasons. But, to Poland's satisfaction, the damage had been done.

Now the tables are turned and it is China, not Poland, which is on the outskirts of Muscovite orthodoxy. To be consistent with 1958, Mr. Gomulka might have to justify China's differences with Moscow, but the time for this has passed. The Sino-Soviet dispute has gone beyond the point where Poland could seek to maneuver inside of it. Further silence on Mr. Gomulka's part might be confused with backsliding on the most vital issue in the Marxist world. So, surely with realism and perhaps with regret, Mr. Gomulka has laid aside the formal fiction of a single socialist camp engaged in a family quarrel and has moved publicly to put his person where his policy has been all along—in Moscow.

Prayer and Patriotism

It is hard to see how a prayer prescribed for the opening of school by an individual classroom teacher is any less offensive to the Constitution than a prayer prescribed by a Board of Education or a Board of Regents. A teacher acts with authority conferred on her by the state. When she uses that authority to lead a class in prayer, she violates "the command of the First Amendment," as Mr. Justice Clark put it in his opinion for the Supreme Court, "that the Government maintain strict neutrality, neither aiding with nor opposing religion."

It is reported, nevertheless, that as schools opened all over the country last week, pupils in thousands of classrooms began the day with Bible reading or a prayer.

What these teachers are doing, whether they

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Letter

Violence in Rights Move

Many citizens who wholeheartedly believe in the necessity of civil rights legislation and the opening of employment opportunities for Negro Americans are nevertheless dismayed by the activities now being conducted by many pickets and demonstrators. These sympathizers are mindful of the fact that unjustly and unfairly the Negro American has been deprived of his economic, educational, legal and human rights for over a century.

Some demonstrators and agitators in this good cause have become so over-zealous that they resort to violence, resulting in injury to persons and destruction to private property. Interested sympathizers condemn these practices because they believe they are self-defeating and that the end would be better achieved with more moderation.

However, American history is illustrative of the fact that there are grievances and conditions so serious that efforts for redress and change are often accompanied only by strong methods. Today all law abiding Americans applaud and celebrate the Boston Tea Party of 1774 at which private

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"Basically There Are Three Governments Involved — The Diem Government, The U.S.A., And The C.I.A."



Schuman's Dream And a New Era

By Robert H. Estabrook

LONDON—The death at 77 of Robert Schuman, the remarkable Alsace Frenchman who became a prime architect of European unity, was another reminder of the passing of an era. Next month Chancellor Konrad Adenauer will retire at 87 from a leadership of a still-plastic Germany. The tenure of British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, nearing 70, cannot be long. French President Charles de Gaulle, soon 73, is still vigorous but visibly aging.

Schuman saw only part of his dream become reality. The Schuman Plan evolved when he was French Foreign Minister, produced the European Coal and Steel Community. With the aid of Jean Monnet and Paul-Henri Spaak, this led to the European Economic Community, or Common Market. More recently British tardiness and internal dissensions stimulated by de Gaulle's veto brought political unity to a rude halt.

Some of Schuman's associates remain more active. Jean Monnet, the practical idealist who saw EEC as a vehicle for transatlantic partnership, is 75. Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak is 64. President Walter Hallstein, the administrative technician at Brussels, is 61.

But basically these are men of a generation which came to responsibility before World War II. A few young leaders, notably EEC vice president Robert Marjolin and Sicco Mansueto, share the vision. But many of the contemporaries have not demonstrated the evangelical power to transmit the ideas. The new generation of Europeans who surmount nationalism is not in control.

IF THERE is a tide that brings peace and opportunity together, the chance for this particular version of unity have receded for some years. Mechanically EEC continues to function, the spirit that galvanized hopes last January is sadly dampened.

One evidence of loss of dynamism is the American poultry dispute with the Kennedy Administration, which was willing to pay a price for partnership with a unified Europe (perhaps without knowing either the full cost or the adjustments partnership would require) has begun to look critically at European protectionism.

It is easy to blame frustration of grand design on de Gaulle. His deeply antithetical to American philosophy prescriptions sometimes seem founded principally of a superb confidence in French grandeur. His offhand help toward unity of a unified Vietnam, though perhaps misinterpreted, appears the act of a scavenger—even as the United States may seem a scavenger after French masters in 1953 and 1954.

Yet, dubious as are some of his trines, de Gaulle is right in one. The nature of the challenge from Communist world is changing. In Khrushchev, almost 70 and in the 10 years, also has made adjustments. A decade ago few would have predicted the growing autonomy in Eastern Europe. Even six months ago few saw the nuclear test ban, especially after his foolhardiness over Cuba.

Letters to the Editor

Violence in Rights Move

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if not comparable to the head of a pin set aside in the Communist world for inspection.

It is probably precisely because of the Antarctic Treaty that the Soviets have felt confident they could avoid any firm on-site inspection agreement with the West. They must have reasoned: "If the West thinks the Antarctic Pact provides for mutual inspection when there is no Communist area involved, probably the West will be satisfied with just about anything and we don't need to lift the Iron Curtain an inch."

E. A. KENDALL,
Washington.

After the March

Now that the day of the Great Demonstration is almost over, I wonder just what has been accomplished.

Negroes marched for jobs, schools, housing, etc. They feel that they have been de-

No Guilt, No Sorrow

A. V. Krebs Jr., in his letter of Aug. 19, states that we should now "express our sorrow, if not guilt, for our actions" insofar as our use of the atomic bomb during World War II is concerned.

My father was on a hospital ship that was part of a convoy on its way to invade and destroy the Japanese empire. We were prepared to accept a million Allied casualties; one million Allied soldiers were doomed to die or be wounded in that invasion. The Japanese wanted to win the war too. They had some fantastic weapons ready to use in their attempt to ward off the invasion. Most of them were Kamikaze weapons. We warned the Japanese several times that we had a terrible new weapon we would be forced to